

AN ENQUIRY
INTO THE
EXPEDIENCY OF
EMIGRATION,
AS IT RESPECTS THE
BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN
COLONIES.

By J. G. MALCOLM, Esq.
LATE SECRETARY TO THE CANADA COMMISSIONERS.

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AN ENQUIRY

INTO THE

REASONING

OF THE

PHILOSOPHY

OF

THE

SCIENCE

OF

THE

ARTS

AND

1792

AN
ENQUIRY, ETC.

SINCE the publication of the Report of the Emigration Committee in 1826, the subject of Emigration has excited a large share of the public interest. The miserable and hopeless condition of great numbers of our countrymen, the advantages offered in the North American colonies, even to the poorest settlers, and the moderate expense at which the destitute poor of these kingdoms may be enabled to settle comfortably in America, are the important topics of the Committee's Report, and well justified the interest it excited.

During the last and present year, the distresses of the poor have been increasing. The most alarming accounts of their sufferings have been published. In Ireland, it is said, the growing numbers of the people, and the first effect of the new and very beneficial Act relating to the sub-tenants, have fearfully added to the numbers of the destitute. The miseries and the crimes of bitterness and despair are daily and hourly occurring. Contagious fever and starvation have begun their work in the cities;* reckless insubordination and ferocious crimes disturb and terrify the country, and are fast driving away the little capital, which former miseries have left in that unhappy land. The peasant, who has been so fortunate as to

* See Evidence of T. Spring Rice, Esq. M. P. Question 4317 of Third Emigration Report.

escape the attacks of disease and the connexion of the disaffected, emigrates to Great Britain. The easy communication now established with Ireland, enables him to come over at the most trifling expense, and consequently may be said to have almost annihilated the barrier of the sea, which otherwise might have kept the contagion of poverty from our shores. He offers his labour in the British market. Labour, the ware he deals in, cannot, like other commodities, be kept back till its price is favourable. The destitute must offer the sweat of his brow for whatever he can get, to allay the cravings of his hunger; his competitors in the market, must bring their prices down to his; and the English and the Scottish labourer will be reduced to accept the wages of an Irish peasant. In some places this result has actually come to pass. In the west of Scotland, the wages of labour are reduced by this cause, nearly to the bare means of existence. In the west of England, the same cause is in operation, and the same consequence is beginning to be felt. At Manchester, the competition of Irish workmen has reduced still lower the miserable pittance, to which our own great competition had already reduced the wages of our artizans. "The question of Emigration as connected with Ireland," says the last Report of the Emigration Committee of 1827, "is already decided by the population itself, and that which remains for the Legislature to decide, is the point to which the Emigration shall be directed; whether it shall be turned to the improvement of the North American Colonies, or whether it shall be suffered and encouraged to take that, which otherwise must be, and is, its inevitable course, to

"deluge Great Britain with poverty and wretchedness, and gradually, but certainly, to equalize the state of the English and Irish peasantry."

Of this miserable state of our population, the evidence attached to the Report of the Emigration Committee of the present year, contains the most appalling particulars. That the consequences predicted from a flow of Irish Emigrants into England, must take place, if that flow be not prevented, does not admit of doubt. But whether "*all that remains* for the Legislature to decide, be the point to which Emigration shall be directed," requires rigid examination and careful consideration. Such examination and consideration are proposed as the subject of the following pages.

In order to ascertain, whether Emigration be the only effectual means of relieving our distressed population, we must examine certain other measures, which have been proposed for the same purpose; and, if they should prove inefficient, we must endeavour to discover whether Emigration is likely to be effectual.

But as any proposed remedy for our present distresses, must, in order to be effectual, be suited to the kind and degree of the distress, it is necessary to present the reader with such Extracts from the evidence taken by the Committee, as shall put him in possession of its true description and extent. At the same time he is strongly recommended to examine for himself, the evidence attached to the Emigration Reports of 1826 and 1827, as affording a much larger induction of particulars, than it is possible to include in these pages.

Extracts from Evidence. Report 1827, No. 3.

The rental of the parish of Shipley in Sussex, is £2,599 5s. The sum received for the use of the poor in 1826, £2,314 11s.

Major Moody, Qn. 577 and 578.

At Manchester, if a labouring man "did not get "from 10 to 12 shillings a week, he could then call "upon the parish for relief, to make it up to ten or "twelve shillings, but not above that; at least I understood that to be the rule."

Same, Qn. 307.

In 1826, the number of individuals removed from Manchester, was 4029; in 1825, 698; in 1824, 610.

Question. "How did they remove them?"

Answer. "By paying them money to go to their "parishes."

Same, Qn. 333, 332.

Fifty years ago a single man received as wages, a sum equivalent to the allowance now made at Horwood, Bucks, to a man, his wife, and four children.

Mr. Bradbury, late Overseer at Gt. Horwood, Qn. 1221.

There is a great deal of theft and sheep stealing about the country, arising from that; (distress of the poor) necessity drives them to it. There has been a wonderful number in Aylesbury goal for sheep stealing and robbing hen roosts, and those petty things. The goal has been thronged with them: it is distress that drives them to it. I know two or three who bore a very good character, but the distress of the times

has driven them to commit those things which they had never done before.

Same, Qn. 1231.

In the neighbourhood of Pulborough, between £15,000 and £20,000 has been spent on the poor during the last few years. The rates are likely to increase very alarmingly if we have such a winter as the last.

W. Burrell, Esq. M. P. Sussex, Qn. 1154.

The distress is general in the Weald of Sussex, except in a few small parishes.

Same, 1147.

The cost of a man, wife, and three children is about £25 8s. a year, that of a couple without children, £18 18s.

Same, 1149-51.

There is an understanding, and I may say the principle is recognized, that 2s. 6d. a head for a family is necessary for their "support, consequently a family of "six persons should be receiving 15s. a week. If they "do not receive 15s. a week for their wages as "weavers, they consider that that sum should be "made up to them out of the parish rates. This is "virtually the principle acted on, and I believe not "only in our parish, but in many of the large town- "ships near Manchester."

Rev. I. M. Turner, R. Wilmslow Cheshire,
Qn. 424.

At Glasgow, "the hours of working are various; "sometimes 18 or 19 hours; and even all night is "quite common one or two nights in the week: and, "on the calculation that we have made of the wages,

"after deducting the necessary expenses, they will
"not amount to more than from 4s. 6d. to 7s. a week."

Joseph Foster and James Little, Operative
Weavers, Qn. 15.

"The wages which an artizan now receives are
"not sufficient to procure a sufficient quantity of the
"coarsest food that is used by human beings."

Same, Qn. 97.

There have been public meetings of the landlords
of cottages, inhabited by the hand-loom weavers at
Glasgow. One landlord stated the fact, that he had
about 160 weavers at a place called Springburn. I
believe it to be a fact, that he has not received a
proportion of 2s. in the pound for his rents for the
last eighteen months. I know of another who has a
mortgage upon his property at one third of its sup-
posed value, for which he pays £70 a year interest,
and he has not received £20 for the last eighteen
months.

Mr. W. S. Northhouse, Qn. 657.

I know that a portion of the population of the west
of Scotland must have perished, had it not been for
charity, &c.

Same, Qn. 686.

No language can adequately describe the misery
of those unfortunate persons ejected (cottiers ejected
from estates in Ireland), often in great numbers,
with their wives and children, from their habitations,
and without money or food, and scarcely with
clothing, thrown upon society every where un-
willing to receive them.

J. L. Foster, Esq. M. P. Qn. 3185.

The population has encreased very much, and is still increasing. The practice of dividing land among children is quite prevalent. The number of people employed is not large. There is a great want of labour in the country, and they cannot get employment.

John Bodkin, Esq. of Galway. Qn. 2762—5.

The population very far exceeds any demand for its labour: considerable distress is the consequence: I carried on extensive works last year; hundreds flocked in to obtain occupation; many of them had not tasted food for two days previously; and, when at work, my steward informed me, that the generality of them were so weak, that I should be necessitated to feed them, which I did for six weeks, before they could execute men's work.

J. M. Marshall, Esq. Qn. 4173—4.

On one estate of mine, consisting of 1100 acres, there were not above half a dozen individuals living on the lands when they were let, when they fell into my hands at the expiration of fifty or sixty years, there were six or seven hundred.

R. S. Tighe, Esq. Qn. 4308.

"In the county of Limerick, the county of Kerry, and parts of the counties of Clare and Cork, I consider the necessity of acting upon such a system (i. e. of clearing and remodelling estates) to be universally admitted, and the system to be in progress or carried into effect in every case in which it is possible for the proprietor to attain such object."

T. S. Rice, Esq. Qn. 4311.

The cottager, dislodged, endeavours to settle on the next estate ; if unable to do that, he has recourse to the nearest town, with the little property his landlord may have yielded up to him ; and when that property is exhausted, "the distress in the towns "increases in exact proportion as that in the country "diminished."

Same, Qn. 4316.

This transfer of the population to the towns, in the first instance, lowers the wages considerably in those towns ; in the same proportion it diminishes the means of comfortable sustenance and support. By degrees, not only is the mode of living lowered, but all articles of furniture, bedding, and clothing, become sacrificed ; and, as the ultimate consequence, disease and fever of the most contagious nature, though not very malignant in its consequences, prevails. Out of the population of the city of Dublin, consisting of more than 200,000 inhabitants, 60,000 passed through the hospitals in contagious fever during the last year. This is by no means confined to Dublin. "The expense of providing for the returns of calamity and disease,—these extraordinary establishments for the cure of fever are almost all supported at the expense of the state."

Same, Qn. 4317.

Whilst the population of Dublin has increased, the number of houses has diminished ; which shows that the increase of numbers is connected with circumstances which prove the increased misery of the people.

Same, Qn. 4318.

"There is scarce any means by which a poor man, who loses his former habitation and farm, can acquire a settlement elsewhere."

Same, Qn. 4315.

At Cork, "subscriptions have been made for the transport of the distressed poor to England; and the facilities of transport are so great, that I have no doubt it will be extensively acted upon."

Same, Qn. 5326. See also Dr. Elmore, 4412.

This emigration has greatly increased of late years, and has assumed an entirely new character. Formerly the Irish labourers who came over to England, came over for the harvest and returned again; but the persons who have lost their farms, come over, if possible, to fix here and remain. The number of these persons will annually increase, and will lower the rate of wages in England to a level with those in Ireland.

Same, 4327.

In 1826, the money paid for employing the poor in public works in Ireland was £546,922.

Sir H. Parnell, 4346.

There are from 15 to 20 steam boats pass daily between Ireland and England, all of them bringing over poor Irish labourers. It is therefore utterly impossible, the wages in one country being five or six times higher than in the other, but that it must end, in so great a multitude coming over from Ireland, as to reduce the wages of England to a very low rate, and introduce a potatoe diet in the end, and all its consequences

Same, 4349.

The number emigrating to England increases every year from the district I am acquainted with, and I believe they bring more and more money from England every year.

Jerrard Strickland Esq. 3539.

Every decrease in the number coming to England every year, would add to the probability of starvation in Ireland.

Same, 3552.

I should apprehend there are from sixty to seventy thousand Irish in the county of Lancaster.

Bishop of Chester, 2293.

"Are you not decidedly of opinion, that if land-lords dispossess their surreptitious tenantry, the effect will be to produce a very extensive emigration of Irish labourers into England? Unquestionably."

J. M. Marshall, Esq. 4240.

The influx of Irishmen is in fact driving the population of the country out of their employment, by working at a cheaper rate than the natives from their habits can do.

It is a great evil. It tends to the depreciation of the moral habits of the people.

H. H. Drummond, Esq. M. P. 250-1.

The tendency of the present system is to substitute an Irish population for the original Scotch population.

Same, 274.

After there have been disturbances in Ireland, there is always an influx into Scotland.

Same, 280.

You have stated that the wages of your labour are

insufficient to support you, and that you have turned your attention to other branches of labour; and you have stated that you have found none, in which there was a demand for your services. Do you not attribute that very materially to the number of Irish people, that have come over and been employed as labourers, which has lowered the wages of labour? We do.

Foster and Little, Weavers, 72.

It would be no advantage to us, (i. e. were food to become cheaper than it is) our masters would say we can get it wrought by others. There are three workers for every one that is needed. He would say, This man will do it for a trifle less, and I must employ him instead of you, and a few months would bring it to the same thing.

Same persons, 89, 90.

The expense of removing Irish paupers from Lancashire back to Ireland, amounted, in 1826, to £4000.

Wm. Hulton, Esq. 2122—See also Major Moody, 307—Archibald Campbell, Esq. M. P. 211— and Alexander Campbell, Esq. Sheriff substitute for Refreoshire, for other instances of Irish sent back at the expense of this country.

In these Extracts, we have not included any accounts of the distress in the neighbourhood of Blackburn and other places, where it might be supposed to be aggravated by temporary causes. We have extracted the evidence of different people, relating to parts of the country distant from each other; and, it is painful to observe, so little difference in their accounts. The reader will see that, the observations

already made, are amply borne out by the testimony adduced. In England, parishes are oppressed by the burthen of their rates, and the labouring population are almost entirely reduced to paupers. They have lost their character with their independence, and both their industry and their honesty are fast diminishing. The state of Ireland seems hardly to be conceived, and crowds of its miserable inhabitants are pressing to Great Britain, to the great injury, and if their course be not turned, to the ruin of our labouring population.

It is plain from the evidence above, that the supply of labourers exceeds the demand for them, and that this fact is the cause of our distress. To the excess, that is, to those for whose labour there is no demand, we will here restrict the meaning of the term redundant population.

Besides the distress which has been described, various particular evils proceed from a redundant population.

I. That the redundant labourer is wholly unproductive, is evident from the fact of his being redundant. For, if he produced any thing beyond his own consumption, his labour would be profitable to his employer, and there would accordingly be a demand for his labour.

Question 3240, to Mr. Malthus. If it be an admitted fact that there are a great number of labourers for whose labour there is no real demand, and who have no means of subsistence, does not it necessarily follow, that as far as the wealth of the country is concerned, those labourers are of no advantage? Certainly.

Question 581, Major Moody. According to the

testimony of Mr. Richard Martin, one of the farmers in the parish of Shipley, which was agreed to by all the others, both in that parish and the neighbouring one, a man that held a rental of £100, being obliged by these means, (i. e. necessity of employing the redundant labourers) to employ nine of these people, was considered to be overhanded to the amount of three labourers at least.

See to the same fact, evidence of Mr. Bradbury, Great Norwood, Bucks. Qn. 1216, and that of Alex. Hunter, Esq. Writer to the Signet, Edinburgh, to the same fact in the island of Rum, Qn. 2939.

II. The employment of redundant labourers in a district, diminishes the total return to the labour of that district.

Question 3871, to Mr. Cosway. You admit that if eight able labourers were to be employed in a parish only seven eighths of the year each, or in other words, only executed seven eighths of the labour, which they were able to execute, in consequence of there being no real demand for their labour, that they would be equal to one labourer in complete redundancy? In figures it would be equal to that; but I think the redundancy is greater than that proportion, because I do not think that the other seven would do what I consider an English labourer's days work, in consequence of that redundancy of labour.

Question 1614. Mr. J. Taylor, Overseer of Feltham. Do those men work that are put upon the roads or gravel pits? They do not earn even the money they get of the Surveyor, in a general way; they get

into a low degraded way, and seem not to care whether they do it or not, and it is with difficulty we can get them even to do that.

Question 1617. Same person. People will not employ men who have been a good while on the parish, they suppose them to get an idle habit and careless of every thing.

Question 4146. Rev. J. T. Beecher. The farmers know so well the superiority of a free labourer at 12s. a week, even in winter, over a pauperized labourer at lower wages, that they cheerfully give the full hire.

III. Redundant population causes a mode of farming to be adopted unsuitable to the land.

“Exhausting crops are necessary to employ the people. They draw a great quantity of lime, and make compost heaps, and force a course of white crops of wheat and oats twice in four years, otherwise, in the opinion of the whole of the Shipley farmers, they would not have been able to pay the rates.”

Substance of Major Moody's Answers to Qn. 582-4.

Question 2798 to John Bodkin, Esq. Would there not be a reduced demand for labour if there were an improvement in the mode of husbandry? Certainly.

IV. A redundant population causes unproductive works to be undertaken.

Several gentlemen in the neighbourhood of West Grinstead have been expending very large sums of money in making roads and canals for the purpose of employing the poor. Next winter this canal will be

completed, and we shall have expended £10,000 upon it.

Substance of a statement made by W. Burrell, Esq. M. P. Qn. 1146. See also statement made by the same gentleman, Qn. 1178.

From these four propositions, it is evident that the redundant labourer lives upon the return to capital or profits of stock, and not upon the return to labour.

V. In parts of Ireland, the redundant population prevents rent from being paid.

Question 3548-9-50 to Jerrard Strickland, Esq. Is not all the ground held by such persons, (i. e. under-tenants) applied to the production of their food? It is.

And they consume the entire of that produce generally speaking? When they have only one or two roods or an acre, there is no doubt that they do, and probably more than that, and the rest of their food and their rent is provided for by the money they have earned in England.

Would it not be absolutely impossible for them to produce any rent out of the ground they actually occupy, inasmuch as they consume the whole produce of it? Distinctly so.

See also Qn. 3156.

VI. The redundancy of labourers is not confined to one or two classes of employment, but all kinds of employment are so over supplied, that a man, whose labour is not wanted in one kind, cannot get employment in any other.

There is no possible mode of relief to which those persons (i. e. the unemployed weavers) could resort.

They could go to no trade in Scotland for every trade is filled up.

Extract from answer 783, Mr. W. S. Northhouse.

Question 1971. W. Fielden, Esq. Do you contemplate that this redundant population will be left without hope or remedy (i. e. the hand loom weavers)? I see no prospect of relief being afforded them—it appears to me to be a permanent evil.

VII. In parts of Ireland the redundancy of the population prevents the employment of capital.

Answer 2808. John Bodkin, Esq. The capitalist is not in Ireland; and the capitalist of this country will not venture his capital in Ireland, until he is satisfied of a security; and until the country is in a state of tranquility, no capitalist would venture to embark his property in it. See Qns. 3334-9.

From these facts it appears, that a redundant population, while it continues to aggravate the miseries of the people, has a tendency to prevent their escaping from those miseries, and to impede the introduction of relief by capital. When the extent of the distress is considered; as well as its intenseness, we might imagine it caused by a redundancy so enormous, that all attempts to remove it, by relieving the redundant part, were vain. But there are some facts and reasonings, which prove the actual redundancy to be much less than might have been expected.

The effect of a very small excess of population, to distress the district in which it might exist, has been illustrated in a very just, though very homely, manner. If ten men, it has been said, sit upon a bench, on which there is room for only nine, all are crowded

and uncomfortable. But take away one, and there is plenty of room for the rest.

It is stated, by Alexander Campbell, Esq. Sheriff substitute for Renfrewshire, that it is the opinion of many, that if the influx of Irish could be prevented, there would be no permanent redundancy of labourers in Scotland. Qn. 1774.

At Wilmslowe, in Cheshire, the rector states that very few agricultural labourers receive relief.

Qn. 552, Rev. I. M. Turner.

The quantity of labourers where I live is about one third more than can get employment.

Qn. 1216, Mr. Bradbury, late overseer of Gt. Horwood.

At Oundle, in Northamptonshire, the population is about two thousand five hundred, the redundant part from forty to sixty.

Qn. 1048-51, John Smith. Esq. banker.

At Chertsey, in Surrey, the rental of the parish is from twenty to twenty-two thousand pounds. The general outgoing (i. e. for the poor) is about three thousand pounds.

Qn. 1588-9, Thomas Lacoste, Esq.

At Headcorn, near Maidstone, the population is one thousand one hundred and ninety. All the labourers could be employed in profitable labour, if the parish were relieved of forty persons.

Qn. 1682. 1688. Mr. J. Homewood.

At Thurgerton, out of a population of three hundred and thirty, there is but one resident pauper.

Qn. 4138, Rev. J. T. Beecher.

Extract from answer of same gentleman to Qn. 4155. I do not conceive that when wages undergo a diminution to any extent, suppose to one fourth, that it becomes necessary to take one fourth of the labour from the market; because it is well known, that an abatement of wages, creates a competition for employment among the workmen, which depresses the price of labour more than its due proportion.

At Shipley, where as has been stated before, the poor rate is nearly equal to the rental, the farmers only complained of having one in three too many. Qn. 581.

It appears from these Extracts, that where the redundancy is greatest, it does not exceed one third of the labouring population; that so great a redundancy is very rare; and that over the country in general, the excess is very much less.

The distress we suffer therefore, intense and extensive as it is, is produced by the redundancy of a very small comparative number. Such a number, it is obvious, we need not despair of relieving. Consequently the question we have to solve is, What is the best provision which can be made for these redundant labourers? How can they be prevented, with the greatest advantage to the country and to themselves, from glutting the market for labour?

Various schemes have been proposed for profitably employing the redundant population.

The plan of alluring capital into certain channels by means of bounties, is now so generally condemned, that it is needless to enlarge upon its impolicy and inefficiency.

The cultivation of the waste lands of Ireland and

England, is another plan which has been suggested, as a means for providing for the redundant population. We will now consider the efficacy of this plan.

There is a considerable quantity of bog land in Ireland capable of being reclaimed.* The process of reclaiming it, would employ a great number of labourers, and, when reclaimed, would produce a return to the capital expended.† But, at present, capital does not exist in Ireland, and the insecurity of property prevents it being transmitted from England.‡ Whatever capital, therefore, would be required in order to bring the waste lands into a state of productiveness, must be advanced by Government.

But as in this case Government would be sustaining the risk, which is sufficient to deter the private capitalist, it would seem that some preparatory measure, by which property should be rendered more secure, ought to be tried, before Government should risk its capital. But, if Government were to advance the necessary funds, let us enquire what would be the consequences. The draining, the road making, the conveyance of that calcareous manure which is necessary to render the bogs fertile, and the other operations of reclaiming them, would be employment for great numbers of the distressed peasantry. They would receive for their labour, just that degree of remuneration, which would alleviate their present sufferings,§ without raising their desires of improvement, or altering the habits at present found so mischievous. The effect of their being thus employed therefore, would probably be an increase to the po-

* Evidence of Mr. Leslie Foster.

† Same.

‡ Evidence 2809.

§ Evidence of Mr. Nimmo, 3471.

pulation greater than that which would have taken place, had they remained in their present situations.

The result of their labours would be the creation of a considerable quantity of cultivated land.* Upon the use therefore which is made of this land, will depend the benefit which the paupers will receive from its being reclaimed. Now it is the universal desire of the Irish landowners to prevent the sub-division of the land into small farms, and with this view, an Act of Parliament has lately been passed, to facilitate the throwing of very small farms into larger ones. The nature too of land reclaimed from bogs is such, as to be most fit for grazing; and, the most competent judges are of opinion, that it should be thrown into meadow farms,† upon which, little labour would be required.

It is evident therefore, that a very small portion of those employed, in reclaiming the waste, would continue to be employed upon it when reclaimed. Still its cultivation is an advantage to the country, in supporting some portion of the labourers who reclaimed it, and in introducing capital into the country, and improvements amongst the farmers. But great difficulties besides the want of capital impede the cultivation of the Irish bogs. Mr. Leslie Foster states, in his evidence before the Emigration Committee, Question 3585, That the proprietors who have estates adjoining the bog, are proprietors in fee of the bog also, but the boundaries of their properties are not marked out within it. A still more serious obstacle arises also, from the rights of the tenants against the landlords. The tenants, upon the contiguous terra firma, are usually entitled, not only to turbary

* Evidence of Mr. L. Foster, 3584.

† Same 3597.

upon the edge of the bog, but to a summer pasture upon the interior. The boundary upon the former is accurately defined, but with the latter the case is widely different. The tenant will not improve the bog, owing to the shortness of his term, and the impossibility of defining the limits of his property; nor yet has the landlord the power, if he were so disposed, because the tenant is both able and willing to prevent him.

Mr. Leslie Foster thinks however, that the claims of the tenants might be estimated in a money value. Qn. 3593.

It is considered that the only way of overcoming these difficulties, would be to procure an Act of Parliament, forcing the minority of those, possessing rights in bogs, to receive a money value for those rights, should the majority wish the bogs to be cultivated. These means would add to the expense of reclaiming the bog. But, there is an instance, on the property of Lord Palmerston,* of one reclaimed at at the rate of £7 per acre. Ten pounds per acre, in the opinion of the very able engineer, Mr. Nimmo, who stated the fact just mentioned to the Committee, is the rate at which most bogs might be reclaimed.

Were any farm, therefore, as small as twenty acres, allowed to be laid out on the reclaimed bog, it would have cost the sum of £200, before any rent could be paid to the proprietor. The magnitude of this expense, and the small number that could be benefitted by the outlay, put the reclaiming of bog land quite out of the question, as a means for providing for the redundant population.

* Mr. Nimmo's Evidence, 3442.

The waste land of England is generally of a very sterile kind. The value of land is well known to decrease in proportion to the vicinity of a forest;* and every traveller on a stage coach, who can remember the inclosures which took place during the war price of corn, must have observed the same fields now utterly neglected, and returning to the original forest. An estimate has been formed, by Mr. Tredgold, a civil engineer, of the expense of establishing a family of five persons on thirty acres of land in Dartmoor. This estimate,† which includes "partial support" for the first four years, amounts to considerably more than £330. Another estimate, of the cost of settling a family on waste land, states the expense to be £75.‡ According to this plan, the family is to be settled on four acres of land, which is to be cultivated with the spade:—introducing thus, a cottier system into England, at the very time Acts of Parliament have been found necessary to expel it from Ireland.

Those who think the waste lands of Great Britain sufficient to support the redundant portion of its po-

* Lands covered with valuable timber are not, of course, here included in the name waste lands. Numerous instances of the fact stated, will occur to the reader who is acquainted with the agriculture of this country. The forests of Ashdowne, Tilgate, and St. Leonard's, all within a short distance of the metropolis, must have been observed by many who cannot be supposed to be conversant with agriculture, and are all instances of the fact here stated. The neighbourhood of the same forests also, affords instances of land being now uncultivated, which was enclosed during the war. In particular, East Grinstead Common and Ashurst Wood Common are still uncultivated in many parts, although almost entirely enclosed, and although the country around them is greatly improved.

† Included in Emigration Report.

‡ See Mr. Couling's Evidence in Report.

population, do not appear to have considered that those lands are a fixed quantity; but that the population supported on them would be a growing quantity. What is a hundred acres to day, will be no more half a century hence; but the twenty-five families who might live on them, would greatly increase their numbers in a very few years. The one hundred acres, which sufficed for the twenty-five families, would then have to be divided amongst their numerous children. The endeavour therefore, to support the redundant population on the waste lands, is much more unreasonable, than the ancient sophism of setting the tortoise to catch the hare.

But not only are the waste lands utterly inefficient as a means of relieving us from our redundant population;—there are cases which show, that settling them with paupers would greatly aggravate the evil. Mr. Arthur Young, in his travels through France, observes, “That in districts which contain immense quantities of waste land of a certain degree of fertility, as in the roots of the Pyrenees, belonging to communities ready to sell them, economy and industry, animated with the views of settling and marrying, flourish greatly; in such neighbourhoods, something like an American increase takes place; and, if the land be cheap, little distress is found. But as population increases rapidly under such circumstances, the least check to subsistence is attended with great misery; as wastes becoming dearer, or the best portions being sold, or difficulties arising in the acquisition; all which circumstances I met with in those mountains. The moment that any impedient happens, the distress of such a people will be proportioned to the activity and

“vigour which had animated population.”—In another place—“You presently arrive at the limit, beyond which, the earth, cultivate it as you please, will feed no more mouths; yet those simple manners, which instigate to marriage, still continue; what then is the consequence, but the most dreadful misery imaginable?” See Mr. Young’s *Tour in France*, vol. I. ch. XVII. p. 409, quoted from Malthus on Population. Vol. II. p. 387, sixth edition.

The consequences of a division of the waste lands amongst the poor, are also strongly illustrated by the state of the sub-tenants of Ireland. Mr. Nimmo, whose evidence has been already quoted, states that, the people, particularly in the country of Tipperary, have subdivided their lands amongst each other to such an extent, that the cultivator consumes all the produce of his land. 1st Emigration Report, Qn. 1988. Of course, in this case, there is no rent for the landlord, and no prospect for the children of the tenant. It is the practice with the small proprietors and tenants in Ireland, to divide their land equally amongst their children. What was sufficient, when entire, barely to support a family, must certainly be quite inadequate when divided, to support several families. The most squalid poverty and the severest distress are the necessary consequences. See the Evidence of H. Gabbett, Esq. Qn. 1226, of Lord Ennismore, Qn. 2193, and of T. Odell, Esq. Qn. 2273, in the 1st Emigration Report. Yet such is the inducement to marriage, which the possession of even the smallest modicum of land affords, that the practice here mentioned, is considered by those best acquainted with Ireland, as one of the most powerful causes, not only

of its poverty, but of its redundant population. See Evidence of W. Wrixon Beecher, Esq. M. P. Qn. 2039. 1st. Report.

Even in America, plentiful and fertile as the land undoubtedly is, the same consequence has resulted from a similar cause. Amongst the French Habitans of Lower Canada, an attachment to their place of birth, to the manners of their countrymen, and to the old French law of inheritance, is so strong, as generally to prevent their leaving the neighbourhood to which they are accustomed, and obtaining any of the new land which surrounds them. In their case therefore, the population increases while the land remains the same. The reader shall see the result in the evidence of W. B. Felton, Esq. a member of the legislative council of Lower Canada. 1st. Emigration Report, Qn. 487-8. The disproportion of the produce to the population of Lower Canada, "is principally attributable to a minute subdivision of landed property, which occasions a very imperfect system of agriculture to be followed."—"The French population of Lower Canada is confined to the banks of the St. Lawrence, and the lands which that population occupies, are exhausted and subdivided in such a manner, that they furnish very little more than food for the support of the inhabitants. They furnish scarcely any thing for the conveniences and comforts of life; and, every year, the condition of the (French) Canadian cultivator is deteriorating."

Together with these objections, many of those which have been urged against the capability of the bogs of Ireland, to afford a provision for the redun-

dant population, apply with equal force to this last mentioned scheme.

Having examined the principal plans which have been suggested, and found them quite inadequate; it now remains to enquire into the expediency of Emigration.

The expediency of having recourse to Emigration, in order to provide for the redundant population; depends upon its expense; upon the probability of that expense being repaid; and upon its being practicable, to prevent the filling up of the vacuum made by the Emigrant's departure. We will therefore now proceed to ascertain the expense of Emigration.

The evidence before the Committee of 1826, distinctly shows, that Emigration to the British provinces of North America, cannot be carried to any great extent, unless the Emigrant be enabled to settle as a Colonist. Indeed, in the present state of our North American Colonies, Government would not be justified in encouraging the Emigration of mere labourers, *seeking subsistence by wages*. Notwithstanding all the obstacles of the Passengers' Act, the number of labourers and of persons, who Emigrate for the purpose of hiring themselves as such, was sufficient to supply the call for labour in the North American Colonies, where comparatively little capital existed to employ them. Now that these obstacles are removed, the number of Emigrant poor *has actually overstocked* the market for labour. Were Government therefore, to provide transport free of expense for as many as wished to Emigrate, the numbers Emigrating would be so much greater than the colonies in their present

state require, that multitudes must fall victims to disease and starvation.

This fatal result actually happened to great numbers of pauper Emigrants, before the passing of the Passengers' Act, and inflicted great miseries upon the ports at which they disembarked. The following Extract from a Report of the Joint Committee of the Senate and Assembly, upon a Memorial of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonality of New York, in the year 1817, will show how severely the evil was felt in that city.

"Many foreign artizans land in the city of New York, disperse themselves amongst the various manufactories established through the country, where they seldom earn a settlement, and when reduced to want, are returned to be supported by that city."

"That many foreigners who support their families during the summer months, when employment can be readily obtained, and the necessities required for the support of life are few and easy to be procured, abandon their families in the winter season, and leave them a charge upon the public benevolence."

"That one fourth of the population of the said city, is computed to consist of foreigners, who, having no relatives in this country, are liable, upon the least reverse of fortune, to become a public burden; that the Emigration from Europe, during the last year to the city of New York alone, amounted to upwards of 7000 foreigners, most of whom are in indigent circumstances, and that from the total stagnation of mercantile business in that city, and the suspension of its large manufacturing establish-

"ments; many of those Emigrants, must, during the "present winter, be destitute of employ, and depend "entirely upon the city for relief." It is evident that, if the evils complained of in the memorial just quoted, could affect a city whose population is more than 120,000, and whose commercial capital is very great, they would occasion incalculable distress in our colonial ports, in which capital is comparatively small, and the largest of which does not contain 20,000 inhabitants.

The greatest distresses indeed, not to the Emigrants only, but to the colonies, might be confidently predicted, were Government to send out labourers merely, without enabling them to settle. There are few ports in the colonies, in which any considerable number could be landed at one time. No place could supply employment on the spot for many labourers. The Emigrants themselves would therefore, suffer all the effects of want; would have no parish to recur to for assistance; and fevers, ague, and famine would make their situation truly deplorable. The unfortunate inhabitants of the place, would be reduced to the alternative of taxing themselves for the support of the new comers, or of suffering the extortions and riots of their despair. Many of the Emigrants would be allured to distant parts of the colonies, where some speculative person might require the *temporary* labour of a considerable number, and when that labour was finished, would be left to perish in the woods, or to live on the property of other people. These are consequences which have already occurred, do frequently occur, and must always occur, where great numbers of men, in want of employment and

ignorant of the country, seize the first specious offer of employment that is made to them.

But waving the consideration, that this country has no right to relieve itself of its own burthens by casting them upon the colonies, let me ask, is it conceivable that the colonies would submit to it? The members of their legislatures would be immediate sufferers from a great influx of pauper Emigrants, and it cannot be doubted, that they would thwart the Emigration by every means in their power. The state of the colonies therefore, would be extremely disagreeable, the situation of the Emigrant extremely miserable; and, when the news of his situation reached home, it could not fail to discourage the poor from Emigrating. The poor man would prefer the state of a pauper *amongst his friends*, to that of a pauper *where he was not welcome*.

The arguments here brought to show, that if free transport to America were furnished to the Emigrant, the supply of labourers would soon become greater than the demand for labour, are equally applicable, whether the part chosen for Emigration, be the British Colonies, the United States, or both. In the case of the United States, the opposition which is here anticipated from the Colonial legislatures, has actually occurred. In the year, 1819, Mr. John Quincy Adams published throughout Europe a paper expressly intended to discourage Emigration; and the state of New York requires every owner of a vessel bringing out Emigrants, to enter into a bond for supporting them, should they become distressed during the first year of their residence. This responsibility, though for many years past Emigration has not taken

place to such an extent, as to glut the market for labour in New York, is yet sufficient to deter many ship owners from conveying Emigrants to that city, where a small addition to the numbers of Emigrants would produce redundancy, and to divert some part of the course of Emigration to the neighbouring state of New Jersey.

Any extensive Emigration therefore, in which the expenditure of Government should be confined to providing a passage for the Emigrant, is quite impracticable. But it has been suggested, that if a few pounds were given to the Emigrant upon his landing, he could support himself until he should find a demand for his labour, or he might travel in quest of it. This plan, like that which we have just quoted, is conceived with a very imperfect knowledge of North America. It assumes, that labourers are to find employment, before the farmers are established to employ them. The number of farmers requiring labourers would indeed increase, but it is under the supposition of an influx of *settlers as small capitalists*, not of *labourers*, that such an increase will take place. The demand for labour in the various public works, whether in the Western United States, or in Canada, on the Ohio canal, the Erie, or the Welland canal, is, in its nature, limited both in extent and in duration. It is besides supplied, at present, by the casual Emigration. This plan too, provides for young, active, and able-bodied *men* alone. It can hardly have been conceived as a means of providing for pauper *families*, or even for women. It is impossible therefore, that an extensive Emigration upon such a plan can succeed, while the demand for labour in America remains

as at present. All the objections against the scheme of providing mere transport to the Emigrant, apply with nearly equal force to this plan. It would be alike cruel to the Emigrant, injurious to the colonies, and while it would be more expensive, it would be equally fruitless and hateful at home.

The only kind of Emigration therefore, practicable for the British North American Colonies, is that, by which the Emigrant is enabled to settle immediately as a colonist and a small capitalist. All that now remains to be considered is, the expense at which such an Emigration can be effected, and whether it is for the advantage of the nation to afford such an expense.

It is one great advantage of this plan, that paupers, who are married and have families, are the persons most fit for settlers. Thus those, who themselves suffer most in this country, will receive the greatest benefit from Emigration; and those, whom it costs the country most to keep, are the same as it will cost it least to be relieved from.

The number of persons composing a family, taking one family with another, may be computed as being five; a man, his wife, and three children. Whenever the family is less than this, the number five may always be made up by some child related to the Emigrant, going out under his protection, or apprenticed to him; or if one family consist of less than five, another may be expected to consist of more. The number of souls in a family may, therefore, be considered as always five. Now any number of families composed in this manner, may be conveyed to any part of Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, Prince Edward's Island, and New Brunswick, at the expense, including medi-

cal attendance, of something less than £17 16s. 4d. the family, or less than £3 12s. the individual. To this must be added, transport to the place of settlement, £1, making in all, £18 17s. 4d. the family, or less than £3 16s. the individual.

Upon this item of expenditure it must be remarked, that the rate of passage per head, for such a family as has been described, is much less than if the five persons were men, or even adults of both sexes. With respect to the tonnage of the ship, the two younger children are estimated to occupy the space of one adult only, and with respect to provisions, the woman costs two thirds only of what the man costs, and the two younger children one half of the same sum each.

In order to establish the Emigrant as a settler, he must be supported on his location, till, in the course of the seasons, his crops come in. The lowest estimate of this time is six, the highest fourteen months.

The latter estimate is made, to meet the case of an Emigrant placed on his land in the autumn, and supported through the winter, in order that he may be enabled to begin his farming operations with the first spring weather. But in point of fact, the expense of preparing the land for the Emigrant, is much less than that of supporting him through the winter. It is therefore, much better to place him on his location in the beginning of spring, having before-hand prepared the land for his crops. By this precaution, he will find the first difficulties he has been led to anticipate removed, his first labour light and pleasant, and will feel cheered and encouraged by the luxuriant vegetation, and delightful weather of an American spring.

We consider therefore, that he will not require a supply of food to be found for him, for a longer period than six months, and the remaining expense of his settlement is estimated as follows :

See Instructions from Secretary of State to Colonel Cockburn, and his letter detailing the execution of them, with Appendix.

	£	s.	d.
Provisions for six months, charged at the rate at which they can be furnished upon the spot	17	15	0
Tools of Husbandry and Household Utensils	3	6	3
A Cow, or to assist in building a House, or otherwise, during the first year	4	10	0
Seed, Corn, Potatoes, &c.	1	10	0
For Surveys, Roads, Public Buildings, and Clearing Land around them (each family's share).	1	6	0
Clearing Three Acres of Land, and making the same in all respects ready for the Settler on his arrival	7	10	0
Sundries	1	6	5
Expenses of Settlement .	£37	3	8
Add expense of Transport.	18	16	4
Total expense	£56	0	0

It appears by the evidence already cited, that 2s. 6d. a head is the amount of weekly subsistence allowed to the destitute poor in many parts of England. More generally however, that amount is estimated at from £25 to £26 a year for a family of five persons. It having been proved that a redundant labourer is wholly unproductive, see page 14, et seq. it is evident that the sum just mentioned, is the return to an amount of

capital rendered wholly unproductive, by its return being consumed by such a labourer. According to the estimate just given, two years' amount of that return, nearly equals the whole expense of Emigration, and three years amount of it, will more than cover that expense, and will render productive an amount of capital, whose return is £25 per annum. In comparing the two modes of providing for the redundant poor, it must be remembered that the larger expense keeps the poor man in a state of poverty, discontent and degradation; the lesser establishes him in comfort and independence. The advantage therefore, effected by Emigration is very extensive;—not only the substitution of a payment of £56 for an annuity of £25 per annum, but the redeeming of our poor from that wretched and demoralized state, which causes so much misery at present, and threatens so much mischief in future.

We have now to enquire into the Emigrant's capability of making a return for the capital expended in effecting his settlement.

The Emigration Committees of 1826 and 1827, make this capability the subject of close investigation. None of the colonial witnesses examined, entertained any doubt, that such a return could be made. In the year 1823, an experimental Emigration took place from the south of Ireland, and was conducted by Mr. Peter Robinson. The expense of that Emigration, which was directed to Upper Canada, was nearly double of that in the estimate here given; but it appears, that in the month of March 1826, about two years and a half after the arrival of the Emigrants, their property, valued at a saleable rate, was worth

more than half the sum expended on their Emigration. 3rd Emigration Report, p. 30.

Another Emigration under the same guidance, took place in 1825. The Emigrants, as before, were utterly destitute; but in one year, the produce of their labour, valued at the market price, amounted to one fourth nearly of the whole cost of their Emigration. Same Report, p. 31.

The country is aware, from the speech of Mr. Peel on Emigration in the last session of Parliament, that Colonel Cockburn, for many years at the head of the Quarter Master General's Department in Canada, who had personally established the military settlements at Perth in Upper Canada, was sent to America by Government, for the purpose of making enquiries on this, and other subjects connected with Emigration. The closest investigation was entered into, as to the Emigrant's capacity of repaying the money advanced him, and no difference of opinion existed amongst the numerous persons of whom enquiries were made. Many of those persons were Emigrants, who a few years ago had gone out utterly destitute, and had effected their settlement with very few advantages. But all were now become comparatively rich men, all declared their capacity to repay any money which might have been advanced for their location, and all wished that such advantages as are here proposed had been obtainable by them.

The result of Colonel Cockburn's investigations has just been printed, by order of the Secretary of State; and as no reasonings or evidence of any other description, can be so satisfactory to the reader, as information from such a source, he is here presented

with some extracts from that simple statement of authenticated facts.

“As far as I saw (says Col. Cockburn), or could obtain information (at Perth, in Upper Canada), all was prosperity, happiness, and content; and I was particularly gratified, at finding that so far from the assistance originally afforded, being forgotten, it was *invariably referred to*, and gratefully acknowledged. Amongst other farms, I visited, were some, on which the settlers, taken out by Mr. Robinson in 1823, were placed. I found them in possession of property, not only sufficient to place them far beyond the reach of want, but to offer ample security for the repayment of any sum that might have been expended in establishing them. The twenty-two statements herewith transmitted, seem to me to put at rest all doubts respecting the capability of settlers to make repayment. The twelve first were taken down without the least previous notice or arrangement of any kind, in the following manner:—I went to the house of Mr. Morris, a Merchant at Perth, and Member of the Provincial Parliament for the Bathurst district; and as the Settlers came to his warehouse adjoining, they were invited to an interview. Their answers to my enquiries are either in their own hand writing or taken down in their very words. I can safely assure you, that you may consider the statements alluded to, as conveying the opinions of the whole settlement.”

Substance of the statements alluded to.

James Young, late serjeant in the 103rd regiment, was placed on his land when his regiment was dis-

banded, and supplied with a years' provisions and implements. He had not a penny in his pocket. At the end of five years he had a good house, barn, and sheds for cattle, a yoke of oxen, three cows, and other live stock; and would not have taken £150 for his property. That property now worth £300.

William Mc. Gee was located in 1819. Had not at that time "five cobs." At present has thirty-two acres under cultivation or ready for it, a yoke of oxen, two cows, a bull, twelve hogs, and a potash kettle, for which he paid £23 15s.

John Donald was located in 1820. Received no assistance, had no money, was one of the Lesmahagow society. Has now two good cows, a two year old heifer, a yoke of oxen, five sheep, a number of swine and a calf.

Sergeant W. Watson, late 103rd Regiment, received, when discharged from the regiment, a grant of land with a years' provisions and implements. Did not possess a shilling. At the end of five years his property was worth £100; having a yoke of oxen, two cows, a house and barn, with twenty acres cleared. Has no doubt that settlers can afford to pay £25 a year at the end of 5 years.

"In answer to your questions relative to settlers, "I beg leave to state, that most of the settlers who "were located here ten years ago, are now prosperous "and contented, with from twenty-five to sixty acres "on an average cleared land; and possessing a yoke "of oxen, from two to four cows, from six to ten "young stock, pigs and poultry in proportion, and "many, a pair of horses."—"In my own neighbour- "hood, and within my own knowledge, many of the

“discharged soldiers and Emigrants have purchased
“an additional hundred acres, or when that could
“not be accomplished, taken on lease the clergy
“deserves.”

Signed Chrisr. J. Bell, Justice of the Peace.

I abstain from giving the substance of more of these statements, because it would be only reiterating proofs of a fact already sufficiently established. The statements given are fair samples of the remainder, and the reader has seen Mr. Bell's assurance, that they all correctly describe the general state of the settlement. “Were any thing further required,” says Colonel Cockburn, “to establish the soundness of these opinions (i. e. those last quoted from him), “I would offer to your consideration, the important “and corroborating fact, that the Lanark settlers sent “out in 1820 and 1821, who received a loan in money “from Government, under an agreement to commence repayment at the expiration of ten years, “have, in many instances, notified their anxiety to “commence repaying *at once*, if Government will “take produce delivered in Perth or Lanark.”—“I “also enclose a population return, and an aggregate “account of the rateable property in the Bathurst “district; and when all these documents are taken “into consideration, with the recollection that about “thirteen years ago, I visited this part of the country, “passing through the woods (for not a stick had “been cut at that time) to seek for a site on which to “commence; and that the town of Perth has now “three handsome churches, a goal and court house, “and trades of every description established in it, “the result may I think tend to satisfy even the most

"cautious, of the benefits which may be expected
"from a well regulated system of Emigration."
After mentioning that some individuals have been
induced to part with their lots, in consequence of
family changes, or failure in mercantile speculations,
Colonel Cockburn observes, "That the purchasers
"have been persons belonging to the settlement, who
"came to it money-less;" and adds, "that at the
"present time many were prepared with the means of
"purchasing, but he met with none who were in-
"clined to sell."

Should Government direct the Emigration, to co-
lonies nearer to England than Upper Canada, the
fertility and advantages of those colonies may be es-
timated from the following Extracts. They abun-
dantly prove, that the same hopes may be entertained
of New Brunswick, which have been realized in
Upper Canada.

The plan (transmitted to the Secretary of State) is
stated by Colonel Cockburn to show the extent of the
old settlements, with which the new townships are
surrounded; and the precise direction, in which the
great line of communication between Nova Scotia
and the Canadas will be opened: and a reference to
the map of New Brunswick, will show in how easy and
connected a manner these townships may be extended
over millions of acres eligibly situated for settlements,
and consisting of lands reported fit for cultivation.
"The plan also shews the courses of the numerous
"and beautiful rivers running through them, and
"their very short distance from the harbours of
"Shediac, Cocagne, and Richibuctoo, all of which
"are annually made use of, to a considerable extent,

“by the ships coming out for timber. During the
“short time I remained at the latter place, upwards
“of twenty vessels arrived from England, their pas-
“sages averaging from twenty to twenty-five days.”

The neighbourhood of a settled country, of numerous rivers, and of harbours from which there is a large and frequent communication with England, might make indifferent land valuable for a settlement. But the tract of Land extending from the Petecoudiac river to the Richibuctoo, and from thence to the Miramichi, is of excellent quality, salubrious and beautiful.

“Having gained the summit of the mountain,” says the Report of Mr. Smith, surveyor of the province of New Brunswick, “I found it formed a most excellent
“table land: examined it, and found the good land
“still continue. From the Northern brow, the wide
“growth, yet scarcely budded, formed an opportunity of viewing an immense body of fine land every
“where around.” In another place, “Soft woods
“from the base to within half a mile of the top, when
“a beech grove begins. Further on, a fine grove of
“maple, allowed a most interesting view of the hills,
“table lands, and valleys, meeting the eye in every
“direction; interspersed with ever-greens stretching
“into the deciduous tracts, like promontaries and
“bays.” Again, “Having been almost cloyed these
“two days, with repetitions of the most delightful
“tracts for settlement, nature seemed here determined to furnish us with a rich treat. The soil is
“of the finest alluvial deep dark mould, and the
“underbrush presents a great variety of flowering
“shrubs, amongst which, the bush cranberry was

"every where hung with clusters of its ripened fruit."—"As a summary of the whole, I may say that the whole tract is a continuity of superior land for settlement."—"There is no barren whatever, no swamps but such as are highly desirable, and on almost every stream may be found a mill site."—"The highlands are early—not subject to blight and early frosts."

Another most important part of the information collected by Colonel Cockburn, relates to the expense at which Emigration may be effected. His estimate has already been given. It need only be observed here, that Colonel Cockburn's estimate is not founded upon theories, or wrought out by conjectures. The things estimated for, are those which are actually required; the estimated expense of them, is that at which they can at this moment be actually procured. All doubt therefore must vanish, of the provisions made, falling short of that which may be wanted; or of the expense to be incurred, exceeding that which may be expected.

It is concluded therefore, that no doubt can exist of the Emigrant's capacity to repay any capital, advanced for the purpose of enabling him to settle.

Of the willingness of a debtor to repay a loan which has been of the greatest advantage to him, to those who have laid him under the deepest obligations, it may seem impertinent to offer proof. Yet it may be worth stating that, the repayment of the money advanced to the settler may be insured, by withholding the grant of his land till the whole or some portion of his debt be paid.

But supposing the Emigrant to be both able and

willing to pay his debt, its collection has been considered a matter of difficulty. Yet the merchant to whom he remits his produce, has only to pay its value to the person authorized to collect the debt, instead of to the Emigrant, and the difficulties of collection are at an end. Money transactions at present are managed in this manner, and no difficulty is experienced. But were the debt collected from farm to farm, the expense of collection would be quite trifling. The census of Lower Canada in 1826, was taken at an expense of from 3d. to 6d. a house, the former being by far the most common charge; and there is no reason why the collection of the Emigrant's debt should cost much more. These two methods are mentioned, not to recommend them in practice, but only to prove at how inconsiderable an expense the collection might be made.

The settlement of the Emigrant, probably, cannot be effected at a much cheaper rate than that in the above-mentioned estimate; but even this rate need not continue. Our objections to the plan of providing transport merely, or to that of landing the Emigrant in North America, with a gratuity of a few pounds to enable him to seek employment for himself, arose from the small demand at present for mere labourers. But it is evident that such a plan as that we have been considering, cannot be long in operation without creating a much greater demand than now exists. It is difficult to estimate precisely the time which must elapse before mere Emigrants can be sent out with safety. Settlements must be scattered over some of the provinces, and probably the whole of the North American colonies ought to be settled before

the latter course could justifiably be taken. But were settlements established with spirit, and conducted with prudence, there can be no doubt that the plan of mere Emigration might be acted upon in a very few years. At this period the expences would be reduced to the cost of transport. Still, however, careful superintendence and guidance would be necessary. But in a few years more even this expense might be saved, and a considerable Emigration would go on at the Emigrant's own cost, or at that of his connexions and the colonial landowner.*

All that now remains is to enquire whether it is practicable to prevent the filling up of the vacuum made by the Emigrant's departure.

It is obvious that the same inducement which now actuates the people to emigrate, will continue to actuate them until it is removed. While men know that they may be, beyond all comparison, more comfortable in the British colonies than they are or can be in this country, they will continue Emigrating thither. While the present redundancy of labourers exists in this country, the labourer will be much better off in those colonies than in Great Britain. While therefore the redundancy of labourers remains, the inducement to Emigrate will remain. Emigration therefore will certainly go on while it is desirable; and going on, will prevent the population from becoming again redundant.

That if any considerable number of people were once properly settled in North America, a very strong desire to Emigrate would actuate the distressed poor

* Evidence of Mr. Solicitor-Genl. Boulton, Qn. 59, and of Mr. Attorney-Genl. Uniacke, Qn. 329, *et seq.* in 1st Report.

in this country, is clearly proved by the evidence before the Committees of 1826 and 1827. It is evident that such a desire will continue while the prospect of increasing their comforts by the change remains. As a settled country presents many advantages to an Emigrant, over one in a state of nature, it is equally evident that the advantages which the British colonies hold out to the settler, will, under a regulated system of Emigration, keep constantly increasing. We may therefore confidently expect that the desire to Emigrate will continue to actuate the people of this country, and will increase as North America becomes more known and better settled. Let the advantage of settling in the British colonies be once clearly shown, and proper facilities of Emigrating given, and there can be no doubt that Emigration will continue while our distresses at home continue. Let a channel once be opened, by which our redundant population may flow freely to the British colonies, and it will continue to flow till an equilibrium takes place, and then it will cease to be desirable. A well regulated system of Emigration, therefore, would reduce the population to such a state that all able bodied persons might find a demand for their labour. The considerations which we have just offered, prove that it will not be a relief merely temporary. The country will continue to relieve itself while it requires relief. The poor man will carry his labour from a market which is overstocked with it, to one where it is in great demand. It is evident that such a continued Emigration must necessarily keep down the fearful increase in our population. It will do this in three ways. A continued Emigration will be equivalent, as far as *the numbers of*

the people are concerned, to a corresponding increase in the ratio of mortality. The rate of increase in the population, therefore, which is the excess of the proportion of births over the ratio of mortality will be diminished. But while the ratio of mortality is thus virtually increased, the proportion of births will be diminished by the number of children the Emigrants would have produced, had they remained. The rate of increase, therefore, will be still more diminished.

There is a third way in which an extensive plan of Emigration may be expected to affect the population. Happily for our ancestors, they would have been sceptical, had they heard that a people's distress and destitution could cause their rapid increase. But the anxious investigations which the state of the poor has of late years occasioned, seem to have proved the truth of this apparent contradiction. The moral cause is soon explained. People are reckless of consequences, when their condition cannot be made worse. We see too plainly the liability of our poor to the operation of such a cause. All the industry, all the ingenuity, all the prudence, of a poor man will not make him independent. With all his respectability, he is subject to the favour, abuse, or tyranny of the parish officer. With all his frugality he is a beggar. Without industry, and without prudence, he is no worse than a beggar. Can we wonder that in such a state his mind subsides to a state of slavish imbecility, and his nature "partakes more of sensation than reflection?" Without a prospect in futurity towards which to labour, he is the slave of his impulses; he seizes, of course, whatever will solace the passing minute, and marries from the same cause

which induces him to get drunk. Whatever increase therefore in our morbid population is produced by the destitute condition of our poor, will cease when their destitution ceases, and be diminished in proportion as their condition is improved.

It has been said that enabling people to Emigrate from a parish will make an opening for strangers to settle, and for young people to marry there. The state of the parish, therefore, will continue the same. In the first place the objection that strangers will settle in the parish, vanishes when Emigration is contemplated as a national measure. In the second, the payers of poor rates are at present quite on the alert to prevent improper settlements, and the success which attends their activity is a sufficient proof that no danger need be feared on this ground. See Mr. Burrell's Evidence, Third Report.

With regard to the apprehension that the Emigrant's vacant cottage will induce the young people of the parish to marry, I beg to offer these brief considerations. It seems to have become an extensive practice with landlords to pull down their cottages when they become vacant, as those cottages are found to cost more in the form of poors' rate than they pay in the form of rent. Let it be remembered too that the Emigrants would have been prolific had they remained. The probable increase of the Emigrant's family must therefore be considered as balancing that of the newly married pauper; and when we remember that some of the children of the former will be advancing to a marriageable age when those of the latter are born, the least we can infer is, that the two increases will balance each other completely. The parish gains

therefore by the Emigration of a family the cost of at least all the members of that family *living at the time of Emigration*.

Let us add to these reasonings the expectation that improvident marriages will become less frequent as the prospects of the people improve; that the poor will be less careless when they have more to care for; and we must be quite satisfied that no increase of population will take place in any parish in consequence of the abstraction of some of its inhabitants.

After the proofs we have offered, that the redundant part of the population is really unproductive, it is hardly necessary to remark, that *no capital* would be lost to the country by being expended in facilitating the Emigration of that redundant part. If *no return* were ever to be obtained for that capital, we could not be said to lose it, for it is now unproductive, and unproductive capital is the same to the owner as no capital at all. But the sum proposed to be expended on Emigration is much less than that now rendered unproductive by being employed on a redundant labourer. Even, therefore, if there be no return, there is an immediate gain of the difference. Moreover, we have the most ample proof that the money advanced will be restored with interest. The whole of the capital, therefore, on which the redundant labourer now subsists, will immediately, on his Emigration, become disposable and productive.

But this is not the only return which the country will obtain. It is most erroneous to suppose that the American provinces are now without a market for their produce. On the contrary, their need is a sufficient number of producers to render it an object with

the consumers to purchase of them. With the population of the colonies, therefore, their market will increase,—with their market their wealth will increase, and their wealth will make them large consumers of the manufactures and merchandize of their native land. But these pages contain the most ample proof that even without the aid of any extraordinary foreign commerce, the condition of the Emigrant must greatly and rapidly improve. His desires therefore will expand; and we cannot look forward to the time when there will be manufactories in the colonies to supply them. At any rate, therefore, a new and increasing market will be opened for the manufactures of the mother country.

Under the pressure of the existing distress, the *capitalists* of the country have an inducement to Emigrate. There is no doubt whatever a redundant population is one great cause of absenteeism from Ireland. See Sir H. Parnell's Evidence, 4343. The *small farmers too* are tempted to leave a land where, if they avoid pauperism themselves, they cannot expect their children to escape it. What is of still greater importance to the country, the skill and activity of its *artizans* cannot be retained in a place where that skill and activity will not save their possessor from want. Accordingly the most skilful and enterprising mechanics often leave this country for France, Germany, and the United States, and deprive us at the same time of their own skill, and of the custom of these nations. It is obviously not the most skilful artizans who would be most anxious to Emigrate to the colonies, where their peculiar knowledge would be useless. The removal of our redundant population

therefore will at once take away the inducement to Emigrate, which actuates these three classes, and will retain in the country the capital of the one and the talents of the other.

To these arguments we may add, that should the proposed plan fail of carrying off the redundant population, *it will still be an advantage as far as it goes.* For every family, to whom it is proposed to offer assistance in Emigrating, costs the country at present, and will continue to cost it, much more than the amount of the assistance advanced. No risk, therefore, is incurred by adopting this plan. If it fail, still an advantage will be gained proportionate to the extent to which it may have been effected. If it succeed, its advantages are gained at no one's injury, at no one's cost;—are incalculable in extent, unbounded in duration, and equally beneficial to the country relieved, the Emigrant befriended, and the colony peopled.

"Plantations," says Lord Bacon, "are amongst "ancient, primitive, and heroical works," and certainly the relative condition of Great Britain and her colonies, makes them equally important in our own times, and amongst ourselves. We have ascertained that a well regulated system of Emigration would afford an immediate means of relieving the appalling miseries of our labouring population. The distressed people have been led to expect relief from this means; the interest of the colonies has been excited to the same subject; great expense has been incurred in the necessary enquiries and preparations, the which have been deliberately sanctioned by Parliament;—and have produced a result favourable beyond the hopes of the most sanguine. The first expense has been ascertained,

and found lower than any one expected. The settler's capability of repaying both principle and interest, has been proved by the facts already quoted. There is therefore little of any pecuniary risk. Should a system of Emigration be acted upon, Government is able to stop it the moment it becomes inexpedient, or even doubtful. There is therefore no danger of any political inconvenience. Together with security from loss or inconvenience, there is the certainty of advantage, as far as the Emigration may have been effected. It is therefore earnestly to be hoped that no delay will take place in establishing a system of Emigration. Such a system alone will prevent the patience of our suffering poor from turning to despair, and the hopes of the colonies to discontent;—will preserve his profit to the capitalist, his rent to the landlord; and will save from total waste the great labour and expense which have been already incurred, and have fully evinced the adequacy, the benefit, and the safety of Emigration. After incurring such expense, and proving the perfect facility with which Emigration may be effected, further delay cannot be called wisdom; after exciting the hopes of our suffering and patient labourers, delay in relieving them will not be called justice; after raising in our colonies great expectations of improvement in the colonial system, delay will not there receive the name of wisdom, or justice, or policy; nor will it excite either gratitude or respect;—and after canvassing, making public, and recommending a measure* so beneficial to the country in so many rela-

* That the reader may see the industry and caution with which the Question of Emigration has been investigated, he is again earnestly requested to examine the Report of the Committee of 1827, together with the evidence attached. In the List of the Committee sub-

tions, we greatly fear that any further delay will be thought throughout the country to evince that there is a great difference between what is beneficial to the empire, and what is regarded by the administration.

joined he will see that the recommendation of the measure proceeds from persons, than whom, had the country been ransacked for its ablest minds, men better qualified to judge of such a measure could not have been found.

LIST OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON EMIGRATION,
1827.

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